361 175

KAZAN, also written Ḳāzān, in the xvth and xvith centuries the capital of a Tatar principality, in the xixth century a Russian university town, now capital of the Tatar Soviet Republic. According to legend, the town was built by Bātū. In 1391 Ḳazān was destroyed by Russian freebooters from Novgorod, and again in 1399 by the Prince Ywriy Dmitriyewič. About 1445 a powerful kingdom was founded here by Ulu-Muḥammad and his son Maḥmūdek (in Russian works Makhmutek) who had been banished from the Golden Horde; in the same year (1445), in which Ulu Muḥammad captured the Russian Grand Duke Wasiliy, Ḳazān, where a prince called ʿAlī Beg was ruling, was captured by Maḥmūdek. In 1446 Ulu Muḥammad was killed by Maḥmūdek; two other sons of Ulu Muḥammad, Ḳāsim and Yaʿḳūb, had to flee to Russia from their brother, where Ḳāsim founded a local dynasty in Kasimov [q. v.] which is called after him. Like many later pretenders who sought refuge in Russia, Ḳāsim took part on the Russian side in the wars against Ḳazān. Maḥmūdek died about 1464 and was succeeded by his sons, first Khalīl, then Ibrāhīm. In 1468 even Wiatka had to submit to Khān Ibrāhīm but in the following year the campaign took a more favourable turn for Russia; Ibrāhīm had to make peace and restore their freedom to all the Russian prisoners in Ḳazān. Ibrāhīm's successor was his son Ilhām; in 1487 his brother Muḥammad Amīn appeared before Ḳazān with a Russian army; after a siege of three weeks Ilhām had to surrender and was sent with his wife to Wologda; Muḥammad Amīn was installed as Khān in his place. In 1496 the Khān and with him the Russian party was driven out by an invasion of Siberian Tatars under Mamuk; after the victory of the Russians — at the request of the people of Ḳazān — it was not Muḥammad Amīn but his brother ʿAbd al-Laṭīf that was installed as Khān but by 1502 ʿAbd al-Laṭīf was brought back to Russia and the throne restored to Khān Muḥammad Amīn. In 1505 the Khān rebelled against Russian suzerainty and killed or robbed the Russian merchants who came to the annual fair in Ḳazān; the Tatars advanced as far as Nijni-Novgorod. In 1506 a Russian army was defeated; while a second campaign was being prepared the old relations were restored by a treaty of peace in 1507. Muḥammad Amīn died in 1518, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf had died the previous year; with them the dynasty founded by Ulu Muḥammad became extinct.

The following decades were a period of almost uninterrupted fighting between the pretenders supported by Russia, the brothers Shāh ʿAlī (so on his tomb in Kasimov, not Shaikh ʿAlī) and Djān ʿAlī, who had come from Astrakhan to Russia, and the national party supported by the Crimean Tatars and the Noghai. The latter won their biggest victories in 1521; Shāh ʿAlī was driven out by prince Ṣāḥib Girāi who came from the Crimea; the brothers Muḥammad Girāi from the Crimea and Ṣāḥib Girāi from Ḳazān advanced up to Moscow; the Grand Duke Wasiliy abandoned his capital; a peace was concluded in his name by the Tatar prince Peter, a convert to Christianity, by which the Russian government bound itself to pay tribute to the Khān of the Crimea. The Russian prisoners were sold as slaves by the Crimean Tatars in Kafa and by the people of Ḳazān in Astrakhan. In 1524 Ṣāḥib Girāi went

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175 to the Crimea and left his thirteen year old son Ṣafā Girāi in Ḳazān. The only original document that survives from the period of the principality of Ḳazān dates from the brief reign of Ṣāḥib Girāi: it is a decree dated Ṣafar 13, 929 (= Jan. 1, 1523), confirming a family as *Tarkhān*'s, that is nobles freed from all taxes. The taxes are detailed so that the document is of some importance for the domestic history of the principality.

After vain efforts to come to an agreement with Russia, Ṣafā Girāi was driven from the throne by the Russian party in 1530; at the wish of the people it was not Shāh ʿAlī but Djān ʿAlī that was elected Khān; he was killed in 1535 in a rising of the national party, Ṣafā Girāi recalled and supported by his father Ṣāḥib Girāi, then Khān of the Crimea. The Russian attempts to restore their suzerainty had therefore for a long time no success; it was only in the year 1546 that Ṣafā Girāi was driven out and Shāh ʿAlī put in his place; but Ṣafā Girāi returned immediately after the departure of the Russians and held the throne till his death in 1549. He was succeeded by his two year old son Ötemish, who was taken to Russia in the following year, christened by the name of Alexander and lived till 1566. The brief and cruel reign of Shāh ʿAlī ended with his banishment. Yādigār Muḥammad, a prince born in Astrakhan, was summoned from the land of the Noghai to Ḳazān as Khān. The Grand Duke Iwan who had already conducted two unsuccessful campaigns (1548 and 1550) against Ḳazān now appeared before the town with a larger army; after hard fighting Ḳazān was stormed on Oct. 2, 1552, and all armed men put to death.

341 The conquered town retained its former appearance and its military importance under Russian rule for a long time. The town had ten gates and a citadel separated from the other quarters of the town by a ditch; the old wooden wall was replaced by one of stone in 1555. The town was then about 600 cubits (= a mile) in length and 500 cubits (1500 yards) in breadth. To injure the commercial importance of the city, the Russian government as early as 1524 had founded the annual fair at Nijni-Novgorod; at the same time merchants were forbidden to go to the fair at Ḳazān. Christianity was industriously preached. Ḳazān was the see of an archbishop from 1555 and later of a metropolitan. The immigration from Russia proper assumed considerable importance.

Little is left of the old town; a tower in the citadel still bears the name of the princess Sūyūnbigi, wife of Ṣafā Girāi (she was previously married to Djān ʿAlī and later to Shāh ʿAlī). Under the [648] influence of national Tatar movement the memory of this princess is kept green; in 1914 a biography of her appeared and a periodical for women is published under her name; but it is not definitely known when and how the tower received this name, and what parts date from the Tatar period and what from the Russian. During the xviiith century Ḳazān had lost all military importance and was easily taken — with the exception of the citadel — by Pugačev in July, 1774; there were then 2,867 houses in it. Even at this date Ḳazān was of much greater importance than Nijni-Novgorod as a centre of government and of culture. The university founded in 1804 became famous especially for its Oriental faculty (strictly the Oriental section of the faculty

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[224 cont.]

×643 [661] With this in mind he was granted several favors, including the fact that his youngest son, aged three, was accepted as hostage in place of his eldest, Sultan Pirali.

[361] To this same end there was a return to the thought expressed by Empress Anna in her ukase to Kirilov, dated February 11, 1736, an idea which was in accord with what we mentioned earlier concerning Abulkhair's wish, to build a city at the mouth of the Syr Darya and to begin its population with criminals condemned to exile. But all these projects were unsuccessful.

×648 578 The hatred of the Khans Abulkhair and Kaip, which had been known since the beginning of the 17th century, was not extinguished by their death, but was left as a heritage to their children and their children's children. We shall see in the course of this work that it has not only not been entirely eliminated today, but even has not weakened among the principal descendants of these two chiefs. But before speaking of these contemporaries, we shall describe the history of their ancestors. The constancy with which these two families have hated each other and pursued each other for a hundred years merits special attention. This hatred may go back even farther, perhaps, for we do not know what sentiments existed between Abulkhair's father and Kaip's father.

×648 We have already said that Sultan Batyr, son of Kaip, and his son, the khan of Khiva, had sent ambassadors to Orenburg for the first time in 1650/1750/. Although their proposals were not accepted, being prejudicial to Khan Nurali, who was recognized by Russia, nevertheless the arrival of Batyr's envoys and their intentions of allying themselves with the Russians gave birth to suspicions in Nurali's heart and reignited his hereditary hatred for Batyr. Furthermore he could not view with composure the fact that in spite of the refusal of the [225] Russian government to send all the caravans in general across Batyr's pasture lands, his son, the khan of Khiva, had forbidden his subjects to go from Khiva to Orenburg and to return by a route other than [643 661 651] that of the lands of his father. This measure diminished Nurali's influence over trade and the revenues which he took in, like all the Kazak khans, based on the notion of a right over merchandise passing through their steppes.

[246 cont.]
[648 721] This same year 200 tents of Turkmen, who had been living with the Kalmuks for a long time, fled beyond the Yaik /Ural River/, and after the Kazaks had allowed to enter their territories they enslaved the fugitives and divided them among themselves.

[167 439 579] During the first years of the reign of Catherine, Russia's relations with the Kazaks were directed more than ever toward the two ends which she had in view: the first, to establish settlements in the two hordes; the second, to insure the inviolability of the caravans.

[361] For the first point, it was wished to revive the plan to build a strong city at the mouth of the Emba and to build a house there for Khan Nurali. But since his subjects feared to see the Russians in the middle of their steppes it was ordered to build a camp in the form of a redoubt instead of a fortress, to shelter the fishermen who came into this region. And in order to keep this establishment from even scaring the nomads, it was ordered that a market be opened where they could provide themselves with wheat from the crown at the lowest price. It was also wished to teach [177] them to [247] mow hay and to build sheds for their animals and dwellings for themselves if they asked for it. Likewise orders were repeated to the border authorities to build sheds for the animals and houses for those Kazaks who wished it on the Irtysh River and beyond the Ural. Taking advantage of the consent of a small number of Kazaks, the Siberian authorities, who had the advantage of living in good relations with certain Kazaks, were ordered to build an entire village on the small Kolchakly River and to obtain for it every imaginable advantage. In a word, the government tried every possible means to imbue its nomadic subjects with a taste for sedentary life. But they always had, and still have today, an invincible aversion to it, either as a result of their [181] nomadic life or for fear of losing their savage liberty, which they value above every kind of possession.

[439 579] For the second goal, the security of trade, it was necessary to seek new means, for 30 years of experience had proven that neither the khans nor the sultans could offer the caravans a sure and inviolable protection over the entire extent of their territories.

[261 cont.]
deliver the objects. Ablai did not wish to swear a new oath of loyalty even under this condition. He believed that the demand that was being made for these [262] external signs of submission had the goal of rendering him suspect to the Chinese, to whom he was then particularly attached. For this reason all the proposals which Russia made him were fruitless, and the certificate and the marks of the position of khan remained at the fort of Petropavlovsk, opposite which he lived in the house which the Russian government had had built for him.

Ablai's disobedience became more patent when the Russian government turned down his request for aid in men to make war against the Buruts, and he openly refused to return the Russian prisoners in his horde, as well as the Turkmen whom the Kalmuks had taken away from the Astrakhan government in their flight and who had remained with the Kazaks. The government was justly annoyed by Ablai's audacity and insolence, and withdrew his stipend and sought to humble him by supporting one of the sultans among his enemies. Measures had even been taken to this effect, and it was thought for a moment to take him prisoner and send him into the interior of Russia. But at this time he assembled troops, attacked the Buruts, delivered a severe defeat to them, took hostages from them, and returned to nomadize in the environs of Turkestan.

While he was living there, he built a house surrounded by a rampart on the little river Talash, near the Ulu-Tau Mountains for his son, Sultan Hadil, and at the entreaty of his Kazak subjects of the Great horde, he founded a village nearby, which he populated with Karakalpaks who were accustomed to agriculture. As for the Buruts he had captured, he made them go north of the Middle Horde, where they are still living today with their children, making up the tribe of the Djany or Iany-Kirgiz, which means New Kirgiz.

In 1781 Ablai returned toward the Russian frontier, but he died on the way at the age of 70 and was buried in Turkestan. As soon as this news arrived in Peking, the Chinese government

[305 cont.]

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Chapter III. Principal Camping Sites of the Kirghiz-Kazaks.

Although the descent lines and tribes of the Kazaks, who are constantly moving from one place to another, cannot have [306] fixed habitations just for this reason, nor can they possess lands, strictly speaking, still, in order to avoid disputes, each group stays as much as possible in the same camping places, especially during the winter. Only reasons of the greatest importance can make them go against this custom.

Their present camping sites are approximately in the following places:

The Little Horde

The Alimuly descent line always spends the winter on the Syr [Darya] River, the Kuvan, and on the dry bed of the Yany-Darya, as well as in the sands of Kara-Kum, Burzuk /Barsuki/, and at the mouth of the Emba. Only a small part [of this descent line] camps on the Ilek River, the Or, and the Ural, from the fort of Krasnogorsk to that of Verkhne-Ozernaya. Their summer camps are on the Temir, Emba, Sagiz, Uil, Ilek, Khobda, Or, and Irgiz rivers, in the Mugodzhar Hills, and in the sands of Kara-Kum.

The Baiuly tribes are Adai, Cherkes, Tana, Baibakty, Shikhlar, Maskar, Kizil-Kurt, Issen-Temir, part of the Djappas [233] tribe, and most of the Alacha, Tazlar, and Bershch tribes. All nomadize in the territory opposite the lower Ural River line and spend the summer between the Ural and the Emba, in the vicinity of the Karakul lakes and the Kuldagaity, Buldurty, Ulenty, Djusaly, Chungurlau, Ankaty, and Uilu rivers, as far as the Khobda. In winter they camp on the Caspian Sea, at the mouths of the Ural and the Emba, on the gulfs opposite Guryev, and some parts of the Adai tribe camp on Mangyshlak. The rest of the Tazlar, Alacha, and Bershch tribes are on the Syr [Darya], the Kuvan, and in the sands of Kara-Kum. Most of the Yappas camp in summer on the Tobol and the Turgai, opposite Troitsk, and in winter on the Syr [Darya] and the Kuvan.

[306 cont.]

101 361 221 619 [166 101] Moreover, as was said earlier, several parts of all the tribes of the Baiuly descent line (except for the Yappas tribe) crossed over in 1801 and 1802 [307] into the government of Astrakhan, under the leadership of Sultan Bukei. They camp in the district called Ryn Peski and form the horde there which is called the Bukei Horde.

The Djagal-Baily tribe, of the descent line of the Seven Tribes, spends the winter in the vicinity of the Irgiz, the Or, the Kumak, and the Sugunduk /Suunduk/ rivers, and the Karacha Mountains. It spends the summer near the Russian border, from the fort of Verkhne-Ozernaya to Verkhne-Uralsk, and extends south as far as the Irgiz.

The winter camps of the Kerder and Tama tribes are on the Ural River, from Orenburg to Uralsk, and their summer camps are on the Donguz, Khobda, Kanlys, and Ilek rivers.

Most of the Tabyn tribe camps near the two preceding tribes. Another part camps on the Tobol, Turgai, Syr [Darya], Kuvan, and Emba rivers.

The rest move with the Middle Horde along the shores of the Issel and Tsu, and the desert known as the Aremetei.

The Kereit tribe spends the winter along the Syr [Darya], and in summer it comes to the Irgiz River, the Karacha Mountains, and Troitsk.

The Tiliev or Tilieu and Ramadan tribes in winter live on the Syr [Darya] and the Kuvan, near the camps of the Kereits. In summer they go to the Turgai River and the vicinity of Lake Urkach-Kandykli.

The Middle Horde

The Argyn tribe moves about in the vicinity of the Ulug, Boyan-Ola, Ireimen, Kizyl, Kuyucha, and Mukcha mountains, and the districts of Urch-Burlyk, Kylchakty, Uch-Kundan, and Bikchentei, and the shores of the Turgai, Nura, Tobol, Irtysh, Sary-Su, Ishim, Issel, Ubagan, Ulkoyak, and Ayati rivers, as well as the sands of Kara-Tusun and the environs of the Kizyl, Kurzhan, Tiba, and Bish-Kun lakes.

Most of the Naiman tribe [sic] occupies the Tarbagatai Range, the upper sections of the Irtysh River, and several other

[307 cont.]
101 localities in the direction of the eastern borders of the [308]
● 361 Chinese empire. The rest of them occupy the upper parts of the
221 Ishim, a sector of the shores of the Turgai, Kara-Uziek, Syr
619 [Darya], Kuvan, Lap-Su, and Kuk-Su rivers, the vicinity of Lake Ak, and the Ulug and Kichi mountains, etc.

The Kipchak descent line camps on the shores of the Issel, Turgai, Chakiek, Ubagan, Tobol, Ayat, Muyunli, and Uya rivers, opposite the forts of Troitsk, Stepnoi, and Ust-Uisk, and in the Kara-Kum desert, as well as in the districts of Aman-Karagay, Ebelei, Yedis, and Tiriekly.

The camps of the Uvak-Girei descent line are on the Ubagan, Ishim, Uya, Taguzak, Irtysh, Issel, Sary-Su, and Tsui or Chui rivers, as well as in the sands of Ich-Kungur, the vicinity of Lake Kechubay-Charkar, and opposite the part of the line between the forts of Stepnoi and Verkho-Uralsk, as well as opposite the forts of Zverinogolovskoye and Presnogorkovskoye.

The Great Horde

The tribes of which we have spoken camp on the Chui or Tsui, Tala-Su, Ili, Kuk-Su, Karatal, Chirchik, Syr [Darya], and Sara-Su rivers, in the vicinity of the lakes of Kara, Ala, Al-Su, and Anamas and the cities of Kuldja, Kashgar, Kukan /Kokand/, Tashkent, and Turkestan, and in the neighborhood of the Kara-Tau, Tarbagatai, and Chingiz-Tsazan [Chingis-Tau] mountains, as well as in the district called the Seven Rivers /Semirechie/. They are also in other regions near the Chinese border, in the old lands of the Dzungars. Some tribes live in the towns of Tashkent and Turkestan and in the near-by villages.

One part of the Kunkrat descent line moves about in these same areas, while another part camps with the Naimans.

[309] Chapter IV. Way of Life.

233 The Kazak way of life is a faithful image of that of the
181 patriarchs. The sight of a whole nation of shepherds, who live only, so to speak, for their flocks, the settlements or auls which

[311 cont.]
221 equally from heat and cold.
132 The violence of the wind brings enormous flakes of snow
132 into the tent through the door and the opening at the top, and
857 sometimes a storm blows over the felt edifice with all its occupants. The children, half-naked, come out from under the felts or the sheepskins in which they are usually enveloped, throw themselves on the hot cinders, burn their hands and feet, and utter cries which pierce the heart.

361 In order to protect themselves from the misfortunes and unpleasantness which winter causes them, the Kazaks choose for their winter camp the middle of some grove, reeds, hills, or the sands in the southern part of the steppes.

221 We have said earlier that their camps, winter as well as summer, cannot be exactly determined and are not always occupied by the same inhabitants. Nevertheless, they are quite constant in the choice of the former, because not all localities present the [312] necessary conditions for a winter camp to the [132] same degree and because the depth of the snow does not allow them to move.

[222 231 351] Some Kazaks, especially those who are nearest to the Russian border, collect supplies of fodder in the autumn, dig pits in the ground to put their livestock in, and build fences of wattling, when the place permits it, to protect themselves from the wind, especially the north wind.

[517 273 262] The suffering they are caused by the frosts and storms makes them celebrate the return of spring with rapture. They spend most of the summer days sleeping and drinking kumiss, and they eat very little meat. At night they gather to enjoy the pleasures of the [538 533 534] table together, and to tell each other stories, or to listen to musicians who play the chibyzga or the balalaika.

[484] But the autumn is the best time of the year for them. It is in this season that they undertake their longest trips (1), and they

[784] 1. We will note in passing that superstition prevents the Kazaks from undertaking long trips when the moon is on the wane.

[312 cont.]
have their principal festivals at this time also. They also choose autumn to practice barantas (2), for this season is favorable because

2. See footnote 1, Chapter II, page 167, on the barantas.

of the darkness of the nights and the vigor of the horses, which have been restored in good pastures for a whole season and are all the better disposed for long-distance and rapid running.

The Kazaks rarely camp in large numbers in the same place, for their herds would be too cramped for space. But they form groups of several families, united by ties of blood or by reciprocal advantages. These groups move in a body from one place to another and do not separate unless there are important reasons. These mobile villages are called auls. The number of tents which comprise them depends on the circumstances.

Some Kazaks live in Khiva, the dominion of Bukhara, the possessions of [313] China, in Tashkent and Kokand, and in these places they have houses, lands, and gardens (1), but their number is very limited.

1. It is said that in the last years of the 18th century, Karabulat, a rich Kazak of the Durt-Kara tribe of the Little Horde, built a small fort made of clay on the shore of the Syr [Darya]. Inside he built a small mosque, also of clay, and lived near it in his tent, in the midst of a large number of his kinsmen and faithful adherents, who camped with him. This fort, which soon tumbled down, was called Kara-Bulat-Tam i.e., "Karabulat's wall." Caravans came to this place to buy provisions and paid a small toll to the lord for free passage across his pasture lands. There were also some cultivated lands near the fort.

[313 cont.]

Chapter V. On the Possibility of Making the Kirghiz-Kazaks Adopt Sedentary Customs.

631 The division of territory, of which we spoke in relation to the
[636 camps of each tribe, might cause one to believe it possible to
311] establish each tribe or each descent line on the land it occupies,
177] in fixed positions, since it recalls to a certain point, the idea of territorial property. But this idea vanishes when one comes to consider the nature of the country and the moral inclinations of its inhabitants.

233 The care of the herds and their propagation is, as has been said before, the favorite and cherished occupation of the Kazaks, as well as the source of all their wealth. In order to sustain this
[311 branch of economy in the flourishing state in which it is at
181] present, vast pasture lands are indispensable, and considering
579] the inclination of nomadic peoples for brigandage, these pastures cannot have fixed limits, and in addition, they are divided into two classes, summer and winter pastures. An open plain, smooth and rich [314] in fodder, is excellent for the livestock in summer, but during the winter confining hills are necessary, especially for the ewes, to protect them from the winds and storms, and also sand which absorbs moisture and on which, therefore, the snow
[222 remains for a shorter time, as well as reeds and heather, which
372] provide good nourishment for the camels and good fuel for the shepherds.

311 This is why every tribe has its winter and summer pastures,
233 the former usually in the south. Thus the Baganaly and the Naimans, who spend the summer on the Ishim or the Turgai rivers, withdraw in winter to the Kuvan-Darya, while the Djappas people leave the market of Troitsk in November to go toward the shores of the Syr [Darya]. The same could be said for many others.
● 361 It is clear from this that the Kazaks must either have two different
439 camps according to the seasons or reduce the number of their animals. In this last case they would do harm not only to themselves but also to their neighbors, whose trade relations with them have the sole purpose of exchanging livestock.

[315 cont.]

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often as its own expense, and has used every means of persuasion to induce certain individuals among them to settle down, at least to provide an example. But all these efforts have been futile.

[579 their tents to live in houses. Next let us examine the ethical rela-
627] tions of the tribes and descent lines. Vengeance carried out by
628 one individual against another, the participation of their families
578 in it, their auls, their /clan/ divisions, and sometimes their tribes, and the perpetual reprisals which result from this, sometimes re-
[166] quire hundreds of families to move away from their dwelling places and to withdraw much farther away, forever, in order to evade the persecutions of their enemies.

721 It is thus that the entire Karakalpak nation, which had lived independently under the orders of its own khans on the [316] shores of the Syr [Darya], lost its existence as a state in the last years of the 18th century and was forced to disperse as a consequence of the frequent attacks of the Kazaks and the acts of vengeance that they carried out to wipe away old injuries.

101 In 1740 a large part of the Middle Horde, with its khan, Abul Mahmet, occupied the eastern shores of the Khobda River. Abulkhair lived most often on the shores of the Syr [Darya] or the Kuvan. This is why he wrote to Nepluev in Orenburg in 1742:
166 "I am with the Little Horde on the Syr [Darya], and the Middle Horde is near you, General." Today it is the opposite. None of the tribes of the Middle Horde are near Orenburg. Several of the auls of the Alimuly descent line in 1821 even came to make their winter camps on the banks of the Ilek, although they had always
578 had them on the Syr [Darya], as a result of internal dissensions, during which their enemies were supported by the khan of Khiva. At the same time several auls which habitually camped near the
361 Russian border withdrew toward the land of Khiva. All this leads
181 us to the conclusion that the present way of life of the Kazaks and
636 the nature of the land they inhabit do not permit them to form
177 permanent establishments, and that for their own advantage as

[316 cont.]

361 well as that of the neighboring states, and especially of Russia,
181 it is to be desired that they not change their condition of being
636 rich herders for that of poor farmers, since their steppes seem,
177 as it were, to be made for nomadic peoples. Good order and peace will not be made to reign in their tribes by establishing villages. There will be no success in making them appreciate the fortunate results of peace except in training them in obedience and especially in observing rules of strict equity with regard to them.

RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kalmyk AH5

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/146 cont./

rivers and beyond to the Volga (1630). War broke out among the other tribes for priority, which was won by the Dzungarians, and indeed the former alliance began to be called Dzungaria after them. United by valiant commanders, Dzungaria became a dangerous neighbor, not only for the eastern Mongol, Altai, and Baraba tribes, but also for China. The latter suffered much from the attacks of the Dzungarians in its western provinces, until after several campaigns the many soldiers of the Chinese army inflicted a decisive defeat (in 1696) upon the armies of the Dzungarian kontayshi

K 361 133

Kirghiz /Kazak/ winter camp in the steppe.

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(prince), the famous Galdan-Tsyren.

This somewhat weakened the power of Dzungaria, but the return of the Torgout, who wandered back from the Volga, again strengthened its influence on the surrounding tribes. This influence was so strong that the Baraba Tatars, who were nominally subject to the Russians, nevertheless acknowledged the power of the Dzungarians and paid duty to them and not to the Russians. Finally the Russians, too, were obliged to clash with them, and at first to give way. In 1714 the Russian government sent Buchholz to set up a series of fortresses along the Irtysh river (by which it was proposed to link the gold deposits of Yarkand with Siberia). The latter established a fortress near the settlement of Yamyshev (where the main trading between the Russians, Dzungarians, Bukhariotes, and Tashkentians was concentrated). The

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KK [439]

H.T. /181 cont./
361 13,361 square versts, and in the Ural oblast one Russian village per 1,800 square versts. Thus if one takes the total number of settlements (and towns), one settlement is found for every 95 square versts. For those who do not know what a Kirghiz /Kazak/ K
361 settlement is like, this last figure may be misleading in relation
162 to the actual density of population. In the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts together, for example, there are about 13,000 such Kirghiz /Kazak/ settlements (camps and aul) in
H.T. which the population is not greater than 50 persons. For the
361 Russian villages the average can be taken as /182/ a village of
162 500-800 persons. Villages with a population of 1,000 or more are very few in number and these are only old settlements.

H.T. The distribution of the population by sex (the number of
162 males and females) is shown on page 78 indicating that the males predominate in the region by a considerable margin (53%) This difference is particularly noticeable in the Semipalatinsk oblast, where there are 31 women for every 37 men. The population of the Turgai oblast has a more equal distribution (22 women for every 24 men).

The distribution of the sedentary population by estate is represented in the next diagram on page 79. It shows that the peasants are the most numerous, in spite of the fact that they began to settle in the region only recently. The Akmolinsk oblast has the largest proportion of peasants, 54.2%, and the Ural oblast has the smallest (16.5%). After them come the Kazak /Cossacks/. /Diagram appears here./ They are most numerous (in proportion to the other estates in the Ural oblast (75%), and least in the Akmolinsk oblast (25%), while in the Turgai oblast there are none at all. The petty bourgeois, the aristocracy, and the raznochinetz /intellectual not belonging to the gentry/ are most numerous in the Turgai oblast (48%) and the Semipalatinsk oblast (41.6%), and fewest in the Ural oblast K
[162] (8.5%). If one considers the Kirghiz /Kazak/ as an estate, they are the largest group in number (72.1%), as is clearly evident from the diagram. The other estates, constituting, when combined, 27.9% of the population of the entire region, are distributed as follows: 37.5% are peasants, 34.5% are Kazak /Cossacks/, and 28% are aristocrats, clergy, merchants, petty

/208 cont./

342 Permanent dwellings are not as necessary as the yurt for the
• 361 Kirghiz /Kazak/. Only climatic conditions force him to change from yurt life to a winter camp. The life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in the winter quarters is not even life, but more a kind of vegetation since it is usually linked with great constraint, discomfort, shortages, and unpleasantness. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ himself regards his life in the winter quarters as a temporary and sadly necessary interval in his life.

On the other hand, these dwellings deserve attention as one of the links establishing the transition of the nomad to sedentary life. The winter quarters are the kernel of modern Kirghiz /Kazak/ land ownership and land use.

In these "kstau," the winter dwellings of the Kirghiz /Kazak/, one can see the most varied structures, depending on the climatic, natural, and historical conditions of the region, and also on the
184 economic status of the owner. In the mountains of the southern
342 Altai and Tarbagatai, the winter camps of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ are constructed of stone and wood and are located in the valleys and hollows of the mountains. In the southern steppe strip (without forest), the winter quarters are built of turf, and in the northern wooded strip they are more often of wood and less frequently of turf.

We shall describe the winter camps of the last two types, as they are the most widespread.

361 Just as sedentary peoples choose for their settlements places
231 that offer the greatest comforts and conveniences for their life, so the Kirghiz /Kazak/ winter quarters are situated primarily in places favorable for the maintenance of livestock, the main source of the people's life. With this in view the winter quarters are located at the foot of mountains, on the banks of rivers and lakes, or on the edges of forests, i.e., in places where the livestock can obtain fodder most easily in winter. Such places are therefore not grazed in summer, so that the grass can be
[342] saved for the winter. In the kstau one is struck first of all by the close connection of the human dwelling with the livestock quarters, and the absence of a regular arrangement of buildings.
342 The walls of the living quarters are made of layers of sod up one

351 /209 cont./ Then there are lighter structures, which constitute the actual yard of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ house. The yard is enclosed by a bulwark of earth, dung, reeds, etc. Poles, whose one end is propped against it, are fastened at the other end either to special supports or also to the bulwark. On top of these poles a reed roof is arranged over the entire yard. A roof is necessary in the winter quarters on the steppe because of the frequent winds and snowstorms. Inside, the yard is broken up into sev- [231] eral parts, of which /210/ the warmest are given to the small animals and cattle and those less warm to the horses.

• 361 The general impression made by the steppe winter-quarters is

[342] [346]

Steppe winter-quarters and mosque of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ clan of the Tuz on the Emba River.

negative. In appearance it is a cluster of closely joined mud huts [132] surrounded by dung. In view of the frequent snowstorms, however, the proximity of the buildings is very convenient for the steppe population.

184 342 35 The winter camps of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in forested localities have more comforts. The living quarters consist of a small hut with a small window and door, a floor, and a ceiling, although it, too, often lacks a roof. Most of the living space is taken up with bunks, covered with felt, mats, rugs, and cushions. Under the bunks, chests and other practical articles are placed. The oven, too, is of a more 184 modern type, more beautiful than convenient. The average middle- 343 class Kirghiz /Kazak/ has separate quarters in the courtyard, called

184 /210 cont./
343 "chuchela," for the cooking of meat and for the laborers. This is a cupola-shaped, half-sod and half-felt structure, dirty and cold.
184 The yard of the forest winter-quarters is not as cramped as on the
251 steppe. Here only a shelter of sod for the sheep is made beside
231 the house, while the other animals are wintered in reed or wattled
● 361 shelters /prigon/ built somewhere deep in the woods. Thus the appearance of the forest kstau reminds one somewhat of a Russian village.

184 Among the southern (Chu and other) Kirghiz /Kazak/, along
342 with the mud-hut winter quarters, yurts are put up in the midst
231 of reeds, with sod and snow laid around them. Simple fences of reeds and saxaul /saksaul/ are made for the livestock. Among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the southern Altai and the Tarbagatai mountains, the winter quarters are built of stone and wood. Sod buildings are rarer. No buildings are made for the livestock at all, and they are kept in valleys and hollows sheltered from the wind.

291 The clothing of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is quite varied. Among the men the underclothing consists of one long wide shirt ("kuylyuk") of calico or, more rarely, of linen, and short wide trousers ("dambaly") of grey or colored material. Over this they wear a long wool coat, or among the rich a silk one, always with designs or embroidery, and wide trousers or "shelbary" of cotton material, sometimes of tanned leather. Above this they wear a beshmet -- a broad coat of colored material or embroidered, sometimes of camel's hair, made at home. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ wears an "arakchin" on his head, and above this a round cap called "bork." He wears wide leather boots with high wooden heels, called "santama," on his feet. His light footgear, called "ichigi" (boots of soft leather, without heels), is always worn with overshoes. He uses a wide calico band as a belt or else a leather "kse." The latter consists of a narrow strap, ornamented on the outside with metal plates, or with silver plates among the rich. From this strap there usually hangs a small bag, in which they used to keep tinder and flint and now put cheese, "kurt," for the road, also a sheath for a knife (which is now used in eating meat) and a powder horn (empty). These supplementary pieces are also adorned with metal plates on the outside. In the winter the

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/212 cont./
"kumiss pubs" /kumysnye kabachki/). In Akmolinsk, Uralsk, and other steppe towns populated in part by Kirghiz /Kazak/, there are several such kumiss vending places, where it is possible to obtain a large cup (3-4 times the size of a teacup) of good kumiss for 2-3 kopeks.

[958]
The nourishing and stimulating qualities of kumiss are well-known /213/ also to the local Russian population, not to speak of the patients visiting the healing places (Borovoye, Shchuch'e, Bayan-Aul, Ul'binskoye, and others) and summer houses, who drink kumiss on the advice of their doctors. The Russian popu-
[439]
[435]
lation of the surrounding towns drink a great quantity of it in summer, for example, in Omsk, where in this season incoming Kirghiz /Kazak/ open a trade in kumiss (30-50 kopeks per
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chetvert). The Kirghiz /Kazak/ make an intoxicating beverage called "araka" from kumiss (by distillation), but it does not yet
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have a wide distribution. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ also like to
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drink tea with sugar, especially brick tea. They do not drink vodka and wine. Russian baked bread is customary among the
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Kirghiz /Kazak/ near towns.

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It was said above that the main occupation of the Kirghiz /Kazak/, being a nomadic people, is livestock raising, but in recent times agriculture has also begun to spread. Here we shall only discuss the domestic occupations of the Kirghiz /Kazak/.

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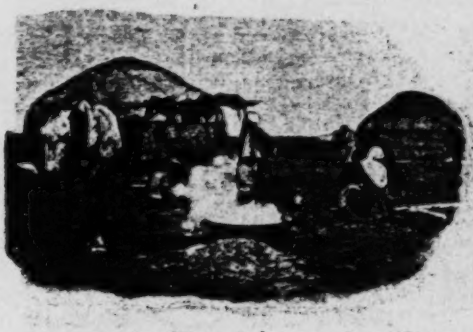

A Kirghiz /Kazak/ nomad village near Omsk. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

Most of these early estimates were phrased in terms of number of Kazakh households. Assuming an average of five persons per household, one can derive such figures as the following for the number of Kazakhs in the Russian empire in the 19th century: 1,950,000 in 1824, 2,000,000 in 1832, and 2,200,000 in 1871. The 1897 Census, which included all but a few thousand Kazakhs resident in China, gave the Kazakh population as 3,800,000. This was the only 19th century estimate with any claim to accuracy. 161

These estimates indicate a general consistency to the population trends of the 19th century. The increase occurred despite a series of wars of liberation, rebellions, and other evidences of unrest; this was the era of the Kazakh wars and uprisings against the Russians. [668]

The rapid increase which started in the last three decades of the 19th century continued into the beginning of the 20th. In 1911 the number of Kazakhs living within the Russian empire was estimated at 4,400,000, an increase of 13.6 per cent in 14 years.

From the beginning of the 19th century, then, when the earliest extensive Russian investigation of Central Asia took place, to the eve of World War I the Kazakh population approximately doubled. The rate of increase appears to have been low at the beginning of the period, rising toward the end.

KAZAKHS IN THE 1926 CENSUS

According to the 1926 Census of the Soviet Union,[1] there were 3,970,000 Kazakhs in the USSR. Of these, some 3,700,000 lived in Kazakhstan (comprising 57% of the population of the republic) and 270,000 outside the republic.

The absolute drop from 1911 to 1926 was thus 430,000, or nearly 10 per cent of the Kazakh population. This loss reflects the political conditions of the time. The relatively peaceful period prior to World War I, which had permitted the increase from 1897 to 1911, was followed by a Kazakh uprising in 1916, then by the Russian Revolution and civil war. In the years after the civil war, 1922-1926, improved conditions allowed the Kazakhs to recover to a point slightly exceeding their 1897 number but still considerably below the population estimate of 1911. [668]

In 1926 the great majority of the Kazakhs still maintained their traditional economy of herding. Seventy per cent of all economically active Kazakhs were reported as herders, 27 per cent as agriculturalists (largely mixed farming, i.e., with some herding mixed in), and less than 3 per cent in all other economic activities (such as industrial and white-collar work). 162

Of the 783,000 Kazakh households in Kazakhstan, 205,000 or 26 per cent were permanently settled. While this figure was based only on Kazakhs in Kazakhstan, it agrees with the total farming percentage. Agriculture is a sedentary way of life; approximately the same proportion of total Kazakhs were reported as occupied in agriculture as were reported as sedentary in Kazakhstan. [361]

[1] *TSUNKHU, Perepis' SSSR* (Census of the USSR), 1926 *et seq.*

THE PERIOD 1926-1939

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At the end of the 1920's the Soviets decided to collectivize the nomads of Central Asia, by which they meant causing them to settle down in collective farms. The first Five-Year Plan envisaged settling 383,000 of these nomadic households by 1933. By 1930, 50,000 nomadic Kazakh households were so immobilized, but 567,000 out of 829,000 households, or 67 per cent, were still nomadic. During the following year, 95,000 more households were transferred from nomadism to farming and other sedentary occupations. In 1932 an intensive drive was started to collectivize the nomadic herdsmen as well, but without compulsory sedentarization; collectivization no longer meant settling down.

K [181] [554]

Apparently, many of those nomads who had been sedentarized in the first Five-Year Plan did not remain on the farms. Kazakhs traditionally abhorred farming. They regarded it as woman's work, as work of the poor and of those who could not make a success of herding. For a man to become a farmer meant loss of status, loss of manhood and virility.

K [186]

The Sarts, for example, a farming and trading people of Central Asia composed of former herdsmen, were despised by the nomads. Only half of those households which had been announced as collectivized remained so. In 1934, it was announced that only 76,000 households of the 145,000 noted above had been permanently settled in 1932. Between 1933 and 1935 slightly under 200,000 households were added to this roll, making a total of about one quarter of a million households which had been sedentarized. In addition, there was some movement of nomad households across the border into other republics or into China. In 1935 there were 158,000 fully nomadic Kazakh households, as compared with 567,000 five years earlier.

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The total number of those employed in Kazakhstan in 1931 was 495,100, of whom 125,100 were in agriculture. By 1935 the total figure had risen to 585,700, and the agricultural component to 165,800. The total figure rose to about 700,000 in 1937 and to 820,000 in 1940.

There were 16,184 persons employed in industry in Kazakhstan in 1927, of whom 20.8 per cent were Kazakhs. In 1933, the number of industrial workers had risen to 56,484; of these, 23,784, or 42.1 per cent, were Kazakhs. At the end of 1934, the total was 71,627, of whom 29,022 or 40.5 per cent were Kazakhs.

K 161

The total population of Kazakhs was reported in 1926 as 3,968,289; in 1939 their number was given as 3,098,764. They had thus lost in absolute terms about 900,000 people between the two censuses, or approximately 22 per cent of their number in 1926. In the same period, the population of the entire USSR had increased by 15.9 per cent. It has been argued that under normal conditions the Kazakh rate of increase would have been higher than the average for the USSR as a whole. (The populations of the neighboring republics of Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan, for instance, which are composed of ethnic groups similar to the Kazakhs, have increased at a rate much higher than that of the entire USSR.) At any rate, if the Kazakhs had increased only at the USSR average rate, they would have numbered about 4,500,000 in 1939. Thus their real loss

towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

The Eastern Turks:

The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through the organized use of water. The family organization among the Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists. A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The transition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Communists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent winter camp site, since this facilitates better political control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz and Kazakhs are ruled by "biks," or "manaps" (elders) responsible to the Chinese officials.

The Mongols: general remarks.

Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

S 563 K 342 of stable construction. The common people build their winter tents with walls of interwoven twigs, sun-dried bricks and mud or soil filled with roots of grass. The winter quarters of the wealthy are of wood or stone. The common tent has but one room, shared by the family and their animals. The rich have K [556] [184] numerous outbuildings, corrals for the different kinds of animals, storage places for the hay, and even stables.

The settled Kazakhs are those who have, for economic reasons, adopted the sedentary life of the farmer. Usually too poor K [361] to own animals or the equipment to move around, they stay in one place for harvesting and making hay. They live the year around in the same sturdy tent, adding an inner-lining of felt for protection from the winter winds.

b. Food

S 563 K 262 [171] [272] The diet of the people is the same as that of the New Uighurs. They are meat-eaters, though the very poor cannot afford to have it often. Their special festival dish is horse-meat sausage. Their specialties for entertaining are fermented mare's milk, horse-meat sausage and pilav. Brick tea is used in quantities. Their pilav differs from that of the New Uighurs in that they substitute dried apricots and dates for onion, garlic and carrots.

c. Clothing

S 563 K 29 [171] [556] Both men and women dress like the New Uighurs except for color. The men's inner garments are white, red or purple, and their cotton outer robes are black. Women usually dress in white or black. Instead of a cotton sash, a man wears a leather belt. A rich man's belt is ornamented with stones, coral, silver or gold. Accessories such as a knife and a leather pouch are hung on the belt. Instead of a hat, married women wear long turbans of cotton print. After she has been married for a couple of years, a woman's colorful turban is taken down by her mother-in-law and replaced by a white one. This act indicates that the K [885] young woman has earned a more important position in the family, and corresponds to the "coming of age" of New Uighur wives. Young Kazakh girls wear their hair braided like their New Uighur sisters.

3. Social values, customs and etiquette

S 563 K 769 191 Traditions and customs of the Kazakhs are almost the same as those practiced by the New Uighurs. Funerals and wedding ceremonies are the same except that the Kazakhs celebrate the anniversary of a death with a big festival, like a birthday or a wedding, whereas the New Uighurs commemorate the occasion only with prayers. Muthi ... relatives and family members of a deceased Kazakh bring their own tents and food to the graveyard. The host provides food and drink. There are games and races, singing and dancing.

000 One custom peculiar to the Kazakhs involves stealing. The

411 Kazakh scorns such a weapon, for he is receiving guns from the Russians which, though also unenviable, at least have percussion locks. Flintlocks were never used by the Kazakhs. Bows and arrows have been completely abandoned. One may add to the Kazakh weapons the whip (kamcha), which is sometimes as much as an inch in diameter. A blow on the head from this whip can kill a man or a beast.

492 The Kazakh saddle has a high front saddle bow, and in back is completely without a bow. It is quite high, light and very suitable for a good horseman. The kazakhs ride with short stirrups, as is the custom among all equastrian peoples.

221 Way of life. The form of life of the
361 Kazakhs is defined by their type of occupation. Cattle-raising inevitable demands constant moving at the rate that the cattle graze. This movement is called changing camp.

Changing camp among the Kazakhs is done in the following manner: /340/ an 'aul', that is, a group of a small number of tents, not more than fifteen or about that, are grazing their herds in the surrounding area. Usually before they decide to move, they send one or two young riders ahead to choose a suitable camping place, sometimes also to clean out the wells. The actual direction depends on the time of year. If this move occurs before the middle of the summer, they go in the opposite direction from the winter camp. If it occurs in the fall (dzhiliau in Kazakh) then the auls move in the direction of the winter camp. The length of stay in one place depends on the amount of

221 grass for grazing, and they rarely stay any-
361 where longer than a month. Sometimes they stay
[423] only several days. Meanwhile, however, it should be noted that according to a custom adopted once and for all, auls are not allowed to use grass for grazing around strange winter
[578] camps. When this custom is not observed it leads to quarrels, sometimes to fights, and in the past it led to cattle rustling because the offended parties in such a case had difficulty in feeding their herds in winter and attempted to avenge themselves for the damage suffered.

[462] The actual order of changing camp is as follows: the chief concern in gathering, storing and loading of the tents and property falls upon the women. The head of the household only supervises the arrangements, and the other men round up the cattle, and form herds from them, each family separately. The departure is after dark, and when everything is ready, the whole caravan (kos in Kazakh) begins to move. The housewife goes first, usually on horseback, and the other women ride after her on camels or horses, carrying the property. At this time the Kazakhs usually put on their best clothes. They place their most precious and costly things (carpets, samovars, and so on) on the top, and in general the whole procession has a festive air. Since the cattle do not all move at the same pace, the herd soon begins to separate. As a result the aul sometimes spreads out over several versts. The head of the household is usually not with the moving aul; slow movement is borg to him and he rides somewhere to the side or hunts along the way. The march is usually not longer than 20 or 25 versts and then there is a halt and rest, which in summer is quite lengthy, up to three or four hours at

221 noontime. Then another such march is taken, so
●361 that on the average /341/ the nomads move about forty versts in 24 hours, if there is no reason to hurry or to slow down.

595 Among the Kazakhs, as Moslems, there is
592 polygamy, but since the support of the wives and the payment to their parents for their purchase is quite burdensome, Kazakhs only rarely have two or three wives, while many have four (sic). The poor, however, have only one wife for the most part. Usually the oldest brother in the family has several wives. He is also the head of the family while it is living together, and his first wife directs the entire household. This wife is called 'baibicae' and not only are the other wives of her husband subordinate to her, but also all the female members of the family. Often the head of the family sends off part of the herd under the leadership of this wife for several hundred versts, and remains himself around the plowed land and his young wives, or else leads a nomadic life with the other part of the herd separately. In the winter, however, they travel together.

428 Inheritance. Usually the Kazakhs divide the inheritance while still alive with their grown sons, either upon their marriage or shortly thereafter. In all cases the rule is observed that the children of each mother receive an inheritance only from the estate of their mother, and not from the dowries of the other wives of their father. Also, after the death of the husband the wife keeps exactly her part of the dowry. The daughters are given in marriage, and after that they have no right to inheritance from the father if there are sons.